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"We are Indians and will always be Indians": Strategies for the preservation of ethnic identity by the Fox Indians of Iowa

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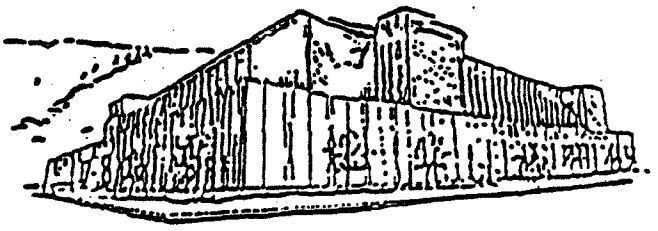

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"WE ARE INDIANS AND WILL ALWAYS BE INDIANS": STRATEGIES FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ETHNIC IDENTITY BY THE FOX INDIANS OF IOWA

by

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"We are Indians and will always be Indians": Strategies for the Preservation of Ethnic Identity by the Fox Indians of Iowa (88 pp.)

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Despite centuries of encroachment by western cultures, the Fox Indians have maintained a distinctly Fox identity. An ethnohistorical analysis of government documents, particularly the Industry Reports of 1922 and 1926, allowed me to identify specific strategies the Fox use to maintain their ethnic identity. These strategies include their ability to add western items to their lives without substituting what is already in place; their use of the tools and weapons of the dominant culture against the dominant culture; and the efforts of daily resistances by individuals to maintain their Fox identity separate from the dominant western culture surrounding them.

Preface: Reasons for Writing

My struggle with finding a thesis topic has taken on epic and comic proportions. At first, I had wanted to write about the role of public education in creating "citizens." After months of theoretical struggles, I realized I did not want to build theory about education, but wanted to teach. After entering another graduate program and a degree later, I found myself teaching junior high social studies from an anthropological standpoint. I had rediscovered anthropology's potential and relevance to education by engaging my students in the study of people and their interactions with their environment and how it influences their values, personal interactions, and economies. I was now ready try and find another thesis topic again.

Taking into account my academic and professional time frames, as well as my personal interests, a friend suggested that I explore an ethnohistoric topic. The opportunity to explore ethnohistory occurred after I had done a single-day of research at the National Archives in Washington, D C. and had really enjoyed examining documents and their stories. Working with copies of documents allowed me to conduct my research at odd hours between schoolwork. I began and ultimately ended my search for a research topic at the Great Lakes Regional Branch of the National Archives in Chicago.

Not having anything specific in mind, I started with the topics and records familiar to me from my graduate studies, Indian Bureau records and educational records. While perusing the listing of Indian

records, I narrowed my list to a few records from several different Indian agencies. Then archivist Martin Touhy helped me narrow my list even more by letting me know how complete some of the records were and how incomplete others were. He noticed I had written down Industry Reports for the Sac and Fox of Iowa and asked if I knew what they were. When I told him that I had no idea, he assured me I would find them interesting and that these records might hold the potential for an ethnohistoric study.

After scanning Sac and Fox files of school and health reports, not too excitedly, I opened a file holding the industry reports and was fascinated from the first page. The report had nothing to do with native industries but with the apparent "industriousness" of individual tribal members.

My interest was piqued by the opportunity to look at a distinct group of people's lives during the 1920s as perceived by the government agent appointed to them. Here was a chance to take these reports about the Fox and through the support of other historic papers and anthropological works uncover who they were and why they made the choices they did during the 1920s.

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Chapter I: Introduction

An Indian Industry Report survey for the Sac and Fox was conducted twice once in 1922 and again in 1926. The reports included single page accounts of individual members of the Sac and Fox tribe of Iowa. Each page described the Indian's home and property (many including a photo), family status, and the agent's perception of the person's *industriousness*. The goal was to document the assimilation of individuals through the technologies they chose to adopt. These verbal and photographic depictions present a people frozen in time. A careful reading of each report supplemented by other primary and secondary sources offer a picture of a people in a timeless contest between their cultural values and twentieth century American technologies and goals. Photos of wickiups followed by photos of new Ford trucks provide clear evidence of this struggle.

The reports posed a challenge. Understanding Fox individuals trying to balance between resistance and acceptance of the influences of westernization during the 1920s was a worthy research project. To do this, I would need to look at the Fox history of contacts with outsiders as well as their motivations for remaining Fox. Claude Levi-Strauss sums up the task at hand as, "All that the historian or ethnographer can do, and all that we can expect of them, is to enlarge a specific experience to the dimensions of a more general one," (1963a: 16-17). I represent those separate Fox individuals in the report as members of a community trying to

fleshout their identityin the 1920s. This identity was being created from a blend of a resistance to and acceptance of some of the dominant culture's western ideals.

The real challenge for any researcher, though, is how to describe and understand a human community. For example, anthropologist Fred Gearing questions whether this can actually be done in his own work on the Mesquakie of Iowa, *The Face of the Fox.* He believes that descriptions involve a conclusion or summation based on, "...the illusion that one sees recurrent happenings," and that the similarities the observer notes are limited to his/her own selective experiences (1970: 66). Western people, like the Industry Report surveyor, when observing an alien people, will often limit the description to what is similar to or different from his/her own situation thus missing that what is being described may not even exist in the mindset of the people being observed. The descriptions focus on what the Fox, aren't, and what is left undescribed provides my challenge to make what is unknown, known (67-69).

As another Western observer, I extrapolate information from the Industry Reports and have created statistical charts based on the data included in the individual surveys. I interpret these statistical charts in reference to Fox history to create a clearer representation of the Fox community during the 1920s.

Exactly one year after I began this topic, I read Fred McTaggart's book about his experiences with the Fox while he pursued a Ph.D. in English in the early 1970s. He felt he was unable to penetrate the Fox.

> I could see Maxine Buffalo Robe sitting in her tiny lodge making fry bread in front of a color TV screen. It was an image of continuity through change (McTaggart: 102).

Interestingly, what he encountered was what I had discovered in the Industry Reports. He describes, "...a conflict over the amount of change that can be absorbed without destroying what is vital to the Mesquakie way of life," (McTaggart: 133), yet another description. This is where the application of ethnohistorical methods permit me to approach the Fox differently. Ethnohistory bases its research primarily on the study of documentary information and looks for the minority through the majority's writing (Hudson 1973: 132).

To partially overcome the Fox wall of resistance that others encountered and that I detected in various documents, I examine theories of resistance as well as westernization and colonialization. These theories provide the support for my questioning of how the Fox maintain their identity through centuries of external influences.

Chapter II: Theory and Methodology

The Fox's resistance to the dominant white American culture is visible through a variety of government documents and correspondences. The central document I will be looking at is the Sac and Fox Industry Report of 1922 and The Sac and Fox Industry Report of 1926. These two reports provide information on each male tribal member, his immediate family, physical housing situation, personal possessions, level of education, knowledge of English, and employment status. Beyond the statistics, these document the personal changes and stability of individuals in a group. The interpretation and application of this document and others requires a synthesis of several theories of processes including westernization, colonialism, and resistance to demonstrate how a group responds to external change over time. Lastly, I will employ the methods of ethnohistory. These theories and methods will help explain how a group of people bombarded with external cultural influences manages to maintain and to insure the continuity of their ethnic identity.

The theory of westernization processes provides a strong framework for analyzing the Fox not only during the few years included in the Industry Reports, but also stretching back to their earliest contacts with the French in the 1600s. Westernization implies a widely dominant European cultural group backed by political, financial, and military power. The influence of westernization is so consuming that Europeans not only judge other

groups by their own standards but also influence other groups to adopt their tenets. Assimilationist policies aim to inculcate people into the dominant culture. Assimilationist policies leave little, if any room for mediation. Yet, I will show how the Fox maintain their identity through centuries of external influences.

Theodore H. Von Laue, author of The World Revolution of Westernization, offers a thorough explanation on the roots of westernization and how the theory has changed over time. Von Laue states that the term westernization came into use in nineteenth century Russia, "It denoted the country's western neighbors -- foremost Germany, France, England -- whose superiority impressed Russian intellectuals eager to "westernize" their backward country," (1994: 795).

United States policies towards the Fox share similar ideas of superiority and backwardness. The American government built schools in the late 1800s where teachers taught the values of the dominant culture hoping to end the so-called backward values of the Native Americans. The curricular emphasis on farming and housekeeping was a direct attack on the seasonal settlement patterns of many Native American groups, including the Fox. The Industry Reports demonstrate the government's belief of superiority by only reporting favorably on technologies the Fox adopted that were part of the dominant culture including, beds, tables, sewing machines, and plows. In short, the American government was documenting assimilation via the technology others adopted.

Von Laue explains that westernization was redefined after

World War II when it became synonymous with the United States of America. As Von Laue noted:

> the democratic countries,...the democratic tradition and their superior military and political power. The Western way of life is the ideal by which all non-western peoples are judged...The sources of Western power, however, did not lie in brute force, but in the human values and elaborate civic organization sustaining economic growth, industrial development, and governmental authority, the bases of modern military strength. With the help of the Judeo-Christian religion the keen competition within Western civilization accustomed its peoples to the discipline of hard work and close cooperation with fellow citizens as well as machines (795).

The definition of westernization did not change over time, but the methods of enforcement did. Industrial and bureaucratic systems enforce power and the use of military has declined. As military confrontations between the United States and the Fox ended in the nineteenth century, the battleground moved to the courts where the state and federal governments' Indian policies debated questions seeking answers on who controlled Fox land, outsiders or the Fox. Western European colonialist projects used similar assimilationist policies towards Africans and Asians during the nineteenth and twentieth century. Anthropologist Partha Chatterjee's work on Indian social reform in the early nineteenth century, explains the civilizing process as having:

> ranged from proselytization by Christian missionaries to legislative and administrative action by the colonial state to a gradual spread of enlightened Western knowledge.

> Underlying each option was the colonial belief that in the end Indians themselves must come to believe in the unworthiness of their traditional customs and embrace the new forms of a civilized and rational order (1989: 623).

The colonial methods imposing British values on the people of India resembled those in the United States used against Native Americans. Both imposed the religious and government actions. The government's philosophy was to persuade native people to believe in the unworthiness of their ways of life; if successful there was no room for mediation and accommodation. There was only one way to live, the dominant culture's way. The United States government wanted the Fox to change their entire way of life.

Despite this exertion of hegemonic power, Von Laue notes that, "anti-Western self-assertion paradoxically needed Western weapons and organizing skills to become effective," (796). The Fox's long history of contact with Westerners made them well versed in their opponents' strategies. For example, when the Fox decided to leave Indian Territory and return to their homes in Iowa, they did it legally by purchasing land in Iowa. The land they purchased was not a reservation, but white land they owned in fee title. Fox land ownership made it difficult for the United States government to impose their policies on them, because they did not hold Fox land in trust. This eliminated the federal government and its westerinization policies. To have so interfered in this arrangement would have resulted in the United States violatings its own cultural and political values regarding private ownership.

These acculturating tactics are visible in two anthropologists' Melville Herskovits and William Blascom, studies of formalized schooling in African countries. Herskovits and Blascom comment that some Africans chose to accept western education as a mean to helping their own people. They observed that, "Literacy and schooling, which stand out among the many things of European origin because they are so widely desired by Africans, illustrate both the selective and the additive character of the acculturative process," (1959: 6).

This idea of selective change is crucial, although the theories of westernization and colonialism do not address it. Herskovits and Blascom examine how groups negotiate change when confronted with different ideologies by determining, "...how much of the pre-existing body of custom and belief is discarded, how much is modified, and how much is retained," (2). They address the flexible nature of both individual and group behavior in their approach. Individuals have a range of acceptable behaviors that they can act within, whereas groups accept only those things that are compatible with the pre-existing customs. This means that acceptance of external elements is "additive" and not necessarily "substitutive," (2-6).

In contrast Von Laue's theory of westernization has a fatalistic tone because it only addresses the process of substitution, or anthropologically speaking, assimilation. He does not consider people who coexist between western and non-western worlds, as the Fox appear to have done in the 1920s.

Ideas and technologies that people choose to accept or reject are also forms of resistance. Julio de Santa Ana explains the adapting aspect of westernization when describing how non-western people have religious symbols that express popular resistance to the dominant culture. He writes:

> Inter cultural relations over time show that the culture of a dominant class does not necessarily supersede the traditions and native culture of a people despite their westernization (1996: 93).

Because symbols are so important, they must also be included he continued:

> while they have adopted the norms of industrial civilization in some aspects of their existence (work, forms of livelihood, etc.), whenever they urgently need to find meaning to enable them to persevere in their struggle for living, it is to their traditional values that they turn - the symbols handed down from generation to generation (94).

The co-existence of ideas allows me to view the Fox as resourceful, not just victims. Historian Karen Blu challenges social scientists to present a group's complex world not just from an "insider's notion," but, "as they confront, synthesize, intrude into, or conflict with the view around them," (1980: xi-xii). Blu accepts her own challenge in her work on the Lumbee by showing how, "aspects of the Lumbee world view are enmeshed with their neighbors' views and what has happened as a result of the way they are enmeshed," (xii).

During the 1920s, the Fox were not alone in their struggles with assimilation. Many Western European immigrants to the United

States were encouraging their children to become Americans. The large urban cities where many immigrants moved had social service organizations that provided English language courses, like the Henry Street Settlement in New York. Why were these Western European immigrants assimilated within one or two generations when the Fox after several hundred years of contact, remained outside of mainstream American values?

First the Fox were a resident nation. The superficial government boundaries of states did not change their attachment to the land between the Great Lakes and Mississippi River. Anthropologist Sol Tax, who conducted extensive work with the Fox beginning in the 1940s through the1960s, developed another hypothesis about the Fox, as well as other Native American tribes. They were not absorbed, or acculturated into mainstream American culture as were many of the Western European immigrants. Tax argued North American Indians never became peasants with a value system based on a work-and-save ethic (1960: 175). The Fox were hunter-gatherers who followed their food supplies seasonally.

Contrary to Tax's assertion, the history of the Fox demonstrated that they used Western strategies and technologies when necessary. As stated earlier, the Fox purchased the land they lived on and continue to live on in Iowa. These purchases are documented in the Tama County records. The Fox learned to negotiate in the western world, yet their ideals remain essentially Fox. The Sac and Fox Industry Reports represent an intertwining of Fox ideas with the idealized goals of the government agent, who physically embodies

westernization.

The most effective way to demonstrate my thesis is to use the methods of ethnohistorians. Bruce Trigger distinguishes between ethnohistory and history. He sees ethnohistory as the study of change versus history, which is the study of activities (1982: 3). The other difference Trigger notes is that the ethnohistorian must rely on written materials produced by cultural outsiders (9). In his book on peasants in sixteenth century Germany, David Warren Sabean rises to the challenge of telling the underlying story of a dominated people by stating that, "what is a fact about the sources is not necessarily a weakness," and that it is possible to discover, in his instance, the peasant's world view from within the words of those in authority (1984: 2-3).

Following Sabean's lead, I frame my description of the Fox with the United States government's agent produced Industry Reports. Additional correspondences between the tribe, the agent, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs provide support as well. Although I remain critical of this source, particularly the agent, Trigger notes, "...self-interest influenced how Europeans construed native peoples more powerfully than did preconceptions," (1986: 254). Therefore, it might have been in the agent's best interests to inflate stories of his rapport with the tribe so that he would appear effective in the eyes of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the agent's immediate superior in the government bureaucracy.

Anthropologists Jean and John Comaroff take Sabean's idea a step farther. They state, "... it is possible to recover from fragments

and discord, and even from silences, the raw material with which to write imaginative sociologies of the past and the present," (1992: 18). The idea of listening to and learning from the silences poses my greatest challenge, because what I present about the Fox arises from their inactions. Ethnographer Bernard Cohen also believes that, "Intention and action are turned into culture by history," (1980: 217). In other words, the Fox's actions and inactions are what define them.

These actions and inactions are the Fox's manner of resistance. The most direct, non-violent resistance was their departure from the reservation and setting up residence in Iowa. The more revealing resistances are those that anthropologist James C. Scott refers to as "everyday" forms of resistance (1986: 8). In his study of peasants, Scott discusses the types of resistance that, "avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority," such as, "footdragging, dissimulation, false-compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage, and so forth," (8).

The Industry Reports of 1922 and 1926 present an opportunity to uncover the Fox's "everyday" resistances, which frustrated the Indian agents who found themselves powerless to stop them. I interpret whether or not the presence of a bark covered structure, a wickiup, appearing next to a frame house is a form of resistance by inaction, or possibly an acceptance of western housing ideals.

Fox contact with westerners and their subsequent resistances did not begin in the twentieth century, so I must take the story back in time to the seventeenth century.

Chapter III: History/Background

The Fox have never lived in isolation. Documentation beginning in the seventeenth century reported that they had both peaceful and hostile contacts with other tribes and westerners including the French, British, and later Americans. Anthropologist, Margaret Welpley Fisher summed up this situation from a re-working of Fox Indian and anthropologist William Jones' works as: "Although their resistance to the white culture with which they came in contact was pronounced, still their relations with other Indians were many and intimate," (1939: 7). Throughout this history of contacts a Fox identity has remained that has allowed them to survive as a distinct community of people.

The Mesquakie are a band of the Fox Indians. Their language and culture combine features from the Great Plains and from the Eastern and Great Lakes Woodlands. They are referred to as the Fox Indians in early records and later they become associated with the Sauk when the Sauk supported the Fox against the French in 1734. Throughout their associations with other Indian tribes, they remained separate groups with their own identity and government. However, the term Sauk and Fox continues to be used in many current publications. Throughout this paper, the Mesquakie group will be referred to as the Fox because that is the name used in most of the historic documents I will be using (Caldwell 1910: 34; Fisher: 1).

The first written documentations of the Fox are from the

seventeenth century when they were living near what is now Green Bay in southeast Wisconsin. Documented by the 17the century Jesuit, Father Allouez, in the Jesuit Relations of 1669-1671, these earliest contacts revolved around France's early missionary work and the fur trade. Father Allouez offered this description of the Fox population during that time:

> They are haught because of their numbers, their cabins being reckoned as more than two hundred, while in each there are five or six and even as many as ten families...Several other nations swell to the size of this one (6,000) (Steward 1903: 104).

Father Allouez had established a Christian mission among the Fox, but had little success converting them because, "of all the tribes they seemed the most averse to the gospel," (Caldwell: 63). Here in the first written records about the Fox was a clear example of the Fox resistance to western ideologies. The Fox were interested in trading with the French newcomers but showed no interest in settling down near their posts and missions where the French could keep a better eye on them (Callender: 536, 643).

In the early eighteenth century, conflicts began to erupt between various tribes in the area and the French. The Fox, with support from the Kickapoo and Mascouten, attacked a French Fort beginning the First Fox War in 1712. Several things provoked this attack: French trade with the Dakota (who were Fox enemies); and, Fox resistance to living near the fort. This direct act of aggression as represented Fox resistance to the French and what the Fox perceived

betrayals towards them, i.e. trading with enemies and dividing their group. The French, with support from other tribes, defeated the Fox (Callender: 636, 644-645).

The Fox did not forget their defeat by the French and planned to retaliate. In 1728, the French uncovered these Fox plans and warfare between the groups was restarted (Kellogg 1925: 316-318; Callender: 644). After several brutal battles, the French convinced themselves they had killed all the Fox. John Fletcher Steward's book *Lost Maramech and the Earliest Chicago* includes translations of many of the primary documents that refer to France's dealings with the Fox. One ominous report titled *Fox Savages* from the archives of the Minister of Marine, Paris dated October 18, 1730 reported that after a Sioux attack on the Fox:

> There is an appearance that they will become enfeebled, so much so that they will not be able to recover, and by these means the tranquillity of the upper country will be assured, without any further need of other assistance that the savages themselves, whom M. le Beauharnois will continue to keep in that disposition until the Foxes arc entirely destroyed, or have submitted to the conditions prescribed, if they ask for peace (Steward: 363-4).

A letter from the same archives entitled *Sieur de Villiers Defeats the Foxes* (Messieurs Beauharnois and Hocquart's letter to the Minister) dated November 2, 1730 confirmed the motives:

> to the almost total defeat of the Foxes; two hundred of their warriors being killed on the spot, or burned after having been taken as slaves, and six hundred women and children were

absolutely destroyed (Steward: 367).

The French estimated the final count of Fox casualties to be between eleven and twelve hundred (Steward: 370). Despite these devastating losses, the Fox retreated, regrouped and ultimately triumphed - as evidenced by their presence as a viable community living in Iowa today.

War often requires support. Hence, it is during this time that their historical connection with the Sauk begins. During his research, Steward found what he referred to as, "Fragmentary records speak of Sacs sometimes being allied with the Foxes, and often against them,," (87). He assumes that this is probably because different factions of the Sauk sided with different tribes:

> In the meanwhile we perceived that the Saks were betraying us to the relatives and allies of the Foxes. They were treating underhandedly with them. They were furnishing them with ammunition, and they were taking measures to favor their escape (Steward: 377 from "Account of the Defeat of the Foxes by the French of Louisiana and of Canada." Archives at Paris: Canada, Correspondance Generale, 1732, Vol.CLVII, p. 316. At Quebec, May 16, 1731).

Years later, Horace Rebok, an American Indian agent serving the Fox, writes that this alliance was only a, "military necessity,...alliance defensive, and cessation of hostilities," (Rebok 1900: 18). This is clearly demonstrated when the Sauk refused to surrender the Fox to the French. The Sauk killed the commander of the French Army as he was trying to force his way into the village to gather the Fox. In

1737, both the Sauk and the Fox are granted pardons by the French government, thus ending their military conflicts (Callender: 644).

Despite their military support eachother, the Sauk and Fox always remain culturally and politically independent groups because as former agent to the Fox, Horace M. Rebok noted, "The ancient clans and a perfect line of chieftanship have been handed down in each tribe to the present day," (Rebok 1900: 18). Nevertheless, the United States government classed them as a single political unit under the name Sac-and-Fox. This re-naming exemplified the westernization policies of the United States government that failed to recognize the Sauk and the Fox as distinct groups, let alone as individual governing bodies to be dealt with a peers.

The Fox alliance with the Sauk, which had once abetted their survival against the French, would have deleterious effects on their relations with the United States government. One of the first of a series of negative negotiations with the United States government occurred on November 3, 1804 when, "a band of Sauk wintering about St. Louis [MO],...ceded all their land east to the Mississippi," (Fisher 1939: 6). The treaty resulted in the Sauk and Fox (who had been living in Wisconsin and on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River) ceding all lands in northern Illinois and Wisconsin but retaining their hunting privileges (Tax 1960: 157; Callender: 644).

Both the Sauk and the Fox tribes disclaimed the treaty because the band that had signed the treaty, supposedly on their behalf had not consulted them. This dispute, between the tribes and the United States government escalated into the Black Hawk War, named after

the Southern Sac leader Black Hawk. There is evidence that by the Fox on a tribal level.

Accounts by an early Indian agent, Thomas Forsyth, from 1823 placed the Fox on the Iowa side of the Mississippi River during the Black Hawk War (Gallahar 1916a: 354-358). Their location in Iowa is important for several reasons. First the location physically removed the Fox politically from the battles that were taking place on the eastern banks of the Mississippi River. More importantly, it further established their personal connection to the land in Iowa.

Despite the Fox's neutral stance as a tribe during the Black Hawk War, the United States government decided all Sac friends would suffer too. As repartations, the Fox ceded their lands in southern Iowa under treaties signed in 1825 and in 1830 (Caldwell: 54-55; Rebok 1898: 161-162; Tax 1960: 157).

In 1842, the separate tribes of the Sac and Fox were brought together to negotiate a further cession of their lands in Iowa due to the influx of white settlers. After several nights of discussion, all of the bands of the Sac and Fox consented to a treaty that placed them on a reservation in Kansas. John Chambers, governor of Iowa, demonstrated humanitarian optimism about the treaty when he stated:

> It is a great mistake that Indians are stoics, misanthropes, or any thing of the kind. A more sociable, communicative, happy or laughing set of fellows than the Sacs and Foxes do not exist any where. But we believe it not only impossible but impolite to civilize them. They are happier as they are - and we should regret any attempt to interfere with their domestic policy (1912: 263).

Chambers' first hand account of the treaty signing focussed on how the treaty benefited the Fox. His words take on a new light when the reader learns that Chambers later became an advocate for the Fox on their return to Iowa from Kansas, where they legalized their residence in 1857. Chambers noted:

> While we regard this result as most fortunate for our Territory, we consider it not less so as to the Indians themselves. They will be made independent and comfortable for life. Their annuities will clothe and feed them bountifully. They will be placed beyond the baneful influences of unprincipled whites who drench them with whiskey and then rob them of their money. And they will go to a country abounding in game where they can pursue their favorite pleasures at will and without interruption from their ancient enemies the Sioux (Chambers 1912: 264).

The treaty permitted the Fox to remain in Iowa until May 1, 1843 when they would be moved to a temporary agency near Fort Des Moines on the Des Moines River. The move to Fort Des Moines allowed the Fox to continue their usual seasonal migration patterns of hunting, sugaring, and agriculture in southern Iowa. After three years in this area, the Fox were required to continue their move to Kansas (Gallahar 1916a: 388-394).

Unfortunately, conditions in Kansas were nothing like the picture painted for them. "The Fox were dissatisfied with reservation conditions such as epidemics, lack of game, and poor crops and feared a further move to Oklahoma," (Callender: 644). The situation was further aggravated when the United States

appointed the Sac and Fox chief Keokuk the authority to oversee annuity payments for both the Sac and Fox (Caldwell: 35).

This event convinced the Fox they could not trust the United States government. The government's assumption that a Sac could speak for the Fox proved that the government did not understand or care to distinguish and acknowledge the distinct identities of these two tribes. Rebok noted that as a defense, "the Musquakie," were, "the most conservative of their race," and that is why the United States government has had, "difficulties of imposing upon them the forms of a civilization they suspicion and which they do not want," (1900: 37). They were justly suspicious since each treaty had moved them further and further away from the region where many of their ancestors were buried. Their suspicion made them refuse smallpox vaccinations in Kansas and as a result, far more Fox than Sac died, but this suspicious, or rather cautious nature allowed for the preservation of their ethnicity and identity as a cohesive group (Tax 1960: 160).

Whether motivated by a distrust for the United States government and the Sac or by the large number of deaths from epidemics or by a desire to live in a land they had historic and cultural ties to, Fox members began to leave Kansas and return to Iowa. The dates of these departures are confusing, but between 1850 - 1852 at least one hundred Fox returned to and settled in Iowa. Here Fox resistance could not be more evident; they disliked the conditions imposed on them by the United States government so they left. This is resistance in action. In an unprecedented move,

the Fox purchased an eighty-acre tract of land in 1857. They raised the thousand dollars for the purchase through a combination of annuity payments, and the sale of horses and jewelry. The Fox used the method westerners used to acquire land, they purchased it. The only difference was that the Fox had no legal standing so the land was in held in trust for them by the Governor of Iowa. The land, like the land of their white neighbors was subject to state laws and taxes. (Caldwell: 39; Callender: 644; Gallahar 1916b: 579-580; Fulton: 436-7; Hagan: 332; Rebok 1898: 162).

This purchase was significant on several levels. It legally established their residence in Iowa with the holding of the land deeds in the Tama County records (Fulton: 435). It also legitimized the Fox in the eyes of their white neighbors. The Fox showed their connection to the land by buying it; they had acquired their land through the same process as their white neighbors had, by purchasing it. The Fox used what they knew about the dominant culture to their advantage.

By 1859, this original group was joined by another five or six lodges who left Kansas after refusing to be enrolled for land allotments in Kansas. To this day the Fox have never accepted the idea of land allotments. Their desertion resulted in the Secretary of War's refusal to pay them their annuity in Iowa from 1853 to 1867 (Fulton: 435-437; Hagan: 232; Gallahar 31: 537).

More documentation on the lives of the Fox in Iowa became available in 1866 when a special agent was appointed to the "Sac and Fox in Iowa," residing in Tama County in the southeast corner of

Iowa. Major Leander Clark served as special agent from July 1866 to July 1869 and from October 1869 to September 1872.

His first report was dated August 1867. His census reported two-hundred-sixty-four people (125 males, 139 females) resided on Fox land. Annuities equaling $5588.46 were distributed based on the census numbers. The Fox requested that $2000. of that money be used for the purchase of more land. The only personal property accounted for were three-hundred-sixteen ponies valued at $40. each (Gallahar 1916b: 578).

Following the first annuity payment in January 1867, the Secretary of Interior ordered the Fox back to the joint tribal reservation in Kansas with the threat of no further annuity payments. Congress reversed the ruling in a special act on March 2, 1867. Under this act they could remain in Tama County as long as they were peaceful and had the assent of the government of Iowa. It also stated that the Fox were to be paid pro rata and the entire amount due the tribe each year was $51,000. (Gallahar 1916b: 577; LaMar 1887: 27-30).

While trying to clear up the annuity issue, the Fox continued to purchase more land. The third annual report under Leander Clark showed the purchase of eighty more acres increasing their land total to four-hundred-nineteen acres (Gallahar 1916b: 578).

Lieutenant Frank D. Garretty was appointed to the Fox on Sept. 25, 1869 and worked there for only one year. According to historian Ruth Gallahar, this was part of a new plan to employ army officers as Indian agents. Clark's annual report included information on the

Fox's work as harvest hands and his desire to have a school started (Gallahar 1916b: 577).

Thomas S. Free served as agent to the Sac and Fox in Iowa from 1876 to 1878. In Free's annual report for 1876, he expressed concern over Fox reluctance to embrace the western ideas that he had proposed. The Fox's winter migration left the new school vacant. Free also advocated allotting land to members and building comfortable homes. The Fox responded to Free's attempts to have them give up raising horses and ponies and turn them into farmers by refusing to give the names of their family members which were necessary for the distribution of annuities. In this instance Fox resistance is played out by inaction (Gallahar1916b: 580-581).

At the same time, the agents questioned the legality of the Fox land tenure. Agent Davenport pointed out that, "the lands in question being situated outside of a reservation and purchased by the Indians from white people are held by the same terms as lands owned by white people, and are subject to taxation as are other lands," (Letter to Davenport from Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hiram Price, June 12,1882).

During this time period, several books were published that provide insights into the values of the dominant culture and their perception of the Fox. In an 1882 book, The Red Men of Iowa, the author A. R. Fulton made reference to Tama County's records that show the deeds for the land the Fox purchased were held in trust by the Governor of Iowa and the agent (Fulton 1882:435-6). Fulton presented a dichotomous snapshot of the county as, "a country of

well-improved farms, and handsome cities," and "a village of wigwams," (Fulton 436).

Another local western view of the Fox situation was presented in an 1883 History of Tama County Iowa. Locals claimed:

> The strongest local attachment exists among them for their present home is the home of their fathers. They cannot forget the past with all its associations, and will never consent to remove from their present place. They have from the earliest moment been friendly to the whites, and while no marked degree of civilization has been attained, yet they are peaceful, honest, and contented people of a good moral character, and have a brighter outlook for the future (History of Tama County Iowa, 1883; 239).

In 1881, an event that has lasting repercussions occurred. Man-wa-wah-ne-kah, the principal Fox chief, died. His eldest son died shortly after leaving only one young son who was described as shy. Ma-tau-e-qua, an old war chief, called together a Fox council and had Push-e-to-neke-qua proclaimed the chief. According to Fox ways, the new chief had to be from the same Bear clan as the former chief and apparently, Push-e-to-neke-qua was not. Though there is no specific reference made to this issue at the time, this issue is still disputed.

Besides land and leadership disputes, annuities were a point of contention. In 1898, in his Annual Report, Agent Rebok wrote:

> By request of the Indians their annuity was last year divided into semi-annual instead of annual payments.... When the change was made many of the Indians objected, and about one-fourth of the tribe, headed by Old Bear, (the son of Ma-min-wau-ne-ka) who aspires to leadership and

> who has never drawn his annuity (sic!) , refused to accept the payment, and continues to hold out at this time...This band represents the most unprogressive members of the tribe, who do not farm and who bitterly oppose all such innovations.... (United States Secretary of the Interior: 166)

The issue of leadership had polarized the group. In 1899, Rebok added:

> Old Bear, now 34 years old and the youngest son of Ma-min-wau-ne-ka, a former chief of the tribe, had for more than a year past aspired to the chieftainship of the tribe and is creating considerable division and contention in the tribe. ...He is uncompromisingly opposed to the advancement of the tribe and the many innovations that have occurred in recent years...They realized that the present chief, Push-e-to...looks approvingly on the progress made...and has no personal inclination to oppose the school.
>
> The points of contention raised by Old Bear and his followers:
>
> 1. the claim of Old Bear to the chieftainship
> 2. the denial of the right of the State to establish a highway through the Indian land
> 3. denial of the right of Government to divide their annuity into semi-annual payments
> 5. opposition to the school and refusal to send their children
> 6. objection to policeman
> 7. objection to any Indians owning cattle on the Indian land and general opposition to industry and frugality (Tax 1960: 166-167).

As the Fox fought to maintain their rights and identity, an unlikely ally entered the fight. In 1895, another event occurred that effects the Fox forever. The Indian Rights Association of Iowa was organized by the recommendation of Agent Rebok. The

organization's purpose was to advance the situation of the Indians in The Tama County. The Indian Rights Association of Iowa produced a report in 1895 that stated, "The condition of the Sac and Fox Indians of Iowa is most deplorable." The report described Fox opposition to raising domesticated animals beyond ponies, resistance to education, their desire to live in wick-i-ups, and their devotion to their religious rites and ceremonies (Rebok et al: 3-5). Association member, Dr. Charles Eastman, an "educated and Christianized Sioux," presented them with descriptions of "civilization and the new life of the Indian," to which the Fox chief responded through an interpreter:

> We have heard what you say. We understand. I hope you will be sincere in your new life and continue. But as for us, we are Indians, and will always be Indians. And so in future years when you have traveled all over this country and have seen all the Indians of the country, and come back to us, we will show you by our live that you too were once an Indian (5).

The most damaging effect is the Indian Rights Association's appeal that the United States government assume responsibility for the Fox. The Fox land, now 3000 acres was transferred from a fee status in Iowa to a trust status with the United States government. A clause was inserted in the act approved June 10, 1896, making appropriations for the Indian Department where the clause slated, "that the United States hereby accepts and assumes jurisdiction over the Sac and Fox Indians of Tama county, in the state of Iowa, and of their lands in said state, as tendered by the act of the legislature of said, state. 29 Stat.,331," (Caldwell: 40; Kappler: 950).

Literally, overnight, the Fox had lost their equal footing. When they were Iowa tax-paying landowners, they could legally reject many of the requests of the agents appointed to them. Now they were wards of the American government and some of the more visible results are the formation of another school, and the construction of new houses. It is from this situation that the Industry Reports can best be viewed.

Chapter IV: The Industry Reports and Fox Resistance

The Sac and Fox Industry Reports were conducted in both 1922 and 1926. The objective of the reports was to provide the United States government with insights into the successes of their past assimilationist agendas and ideas for future plans. Dr. Jacob Breid, Superintendent to the Sac and Fox, received a letter from the Office of Indian Affairs explaining the objectives of the reports that he was to produce:

> This personal work of the superintendents and field employees in meeting the Indians in their home surroundings should prove of great benefit and result in cooperation for the improvement of living conditions and promotion of the industrial activities on the reservation. The fact that 25 new homes have been erected during the past year is evidence that these Indians are willing to progress, if given the right kind of encouragement and support (From E.B. Merritt, Assistant commissioner of Indian Affairs to Dr. Jacob Breid, April 28, 1922. Circ. 1774 Sac and Fox, Iowa, RG 75, National Archives, Great Lakes Branch).

The Industry Report of 1922 and The Industry Report of 1926 both reported on basic subsistence needs and wants as well as education and demographics. The information obtained in both years seems to have been gathered without a precise methodology because there are distinct differences in style between the two reports. Specific information regarding how Dr. Breid should have conducted these reports was not uncovered. Dr. Breid, however, was sent a model example with the recommendation that, "A separate page

should be used for each person or family and where practicable, photographs obtained," in order to provide the Office of Indian Affairs with,"...a clear idea of conditions both individual and general," (From Charles Burke, Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Dr. Jacob Breid, September 14, 1922. Circ. 1774 Sac and Fox, Iowa, RG 75, National Archives, Great Lakes Branch).

The majority of individual family reports included photos of the Fox residences. Occasionally, in these photos, inhabitants were inadvertently captured. This is important for the viewer, because this is the only indication of personal interaction between the surveyors and the Fox Indians. The reports neglected to include any quotes or anything paraphrased from the Fox informants. This creates a silence for the viewer, generated either from the Fox side or by the surveyor's own neglect to include them; and we are left with only the indication of how well the Fox were doing on a western scale.

Dr. Breid produced both of the Industry Reports. Despite consistency in authorship, and subjects, there are differences between the two reports. The Industry Report of 1922 reported more consistently on the actual residences, tools and water sources. The Industry Report of 1926 offered more detailed information about the personal lives of the Fox than the preceding one. The reports on John Buffalo, a Fox, clearly exemplify these differences. The 1922 Report described the specific location of John's home which, "...is located on the south side of the Lincoln Highway about twenty-five rods west of the office." The rest of the report listed the

tools he owned, the number of animals he claimed, and details of his employment: "Last year he worked on the Milwaukee Railroad as section hand practically all summer and this year when not busy farming worked there also," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1922 Report, John Buffalo, No. 38).

By contrast, the Industry Report of 1926 offered details about all of John Buffalo's family members and their personal habits. The document noted, "John Buffalo is 47 years old, is uneducated and does not so seem to take a great interest in any enterprise," and the paragraph continued to describe his wife Elsie Buffalo as, "She is not a very neat house keeper but still does the best she knows how. She does quite a little bead work." The children's genders and ages as well as the health of the entire family were offered next. When mentioning that John had one horse the reporter elaborated on the circumstances, noting, "He was unfortunate in losing one of his horses last year from thistleo. He there fore has to depend on other men for his horses to farm his land," (1926 Report, John Buffalo, No. 39).

Combining the information from the two reports helps to flesh out individuals like John Buffalo. John Buffalo is no longer just a 43 year old man with a wife and one child and a good well. By 1926, he is a man with two daughters named Lela and Mary and a wife named Elsie. Elsie, is now seen as a housekeeper, mother, and beadworker.

Applying the theories of westernization, during the 1920s, most western women were not earning their own wages. Here, we had a thirty year old woman, Elsie, who has chosen to produce beadwork rather than devote her life to the domestic housekeeping

tasks that were being taught in the schools. Without speaking to Elsie, a person can see that she is living what westerners would have considered to be an alternative role for a woman in the 1920s.

The fusing of the two individual reports presented the Buffalo family as three-dimensional people. The challenge for me was how to achieve the same results when approaching the entire Fox community. How could I present a detailed snapshot of a group of people living in the 1920s? I attempted to do this by producing statistical charts from the reports. These statistics reflect the subjectivity of the compiler, Dr. Breid. His descriptors are inconsistent within the reports as well as between reports. For example, John Buffalo's garden was described as "small" in 1922 and "good" in 1926. The reader does not know if the "small" garden was "good" or vice versa. These inconsistencies have forced me to make assumptions about the reporter's judgments based on westernization. In short, Dr. Breid's descriptors reflected his own culture's value system.

Although the motivations of the Fox were never disclosed in the reports, I have been able to identify something about the Fox community's tendencies and character by combining information from the Industry Reports with data from the statistics I compiled, as well as with other supporting documents including the Superintendent's annual reports and his correspondence with the Office of Indian Affairs. The three dominant Fox themes are:

1. Changes in material culture did not necessarily reflect a change in Fox ideology;

2. The Fox continued to use the tools of the dominant culture to their best advantage;

3. There were everyday individual resistances that prevented acculturation.

These themes correspond with the opinion of anthropologist Fred Gearing when he determined that, "At no time in their early history were the Fox eager to embrace white culture in toto: obviously superior White technology was soon adopted, but beyond this the ways of the White man made no permanent inroads," (1940: 7).

I have compiled sets of statistical charts that reflect Fox residences, material possessions, demographics, and occupations. These charts reflect my own understanding of the data, which at times may be flawed by my own ignorance of agricultural terms. For instance, I did not realize that the words hog and pig could be used interchangeably and are not indicative of species or breeds. The charts do reveal Fox tendencies. In short, the goal of this analysis is to present a snapshot of the Fox community and how they maintained their identity separate from other whites in the community during the 1920s.

Fox Gardens

	1922	1926
Category		
None	6	1
Small	3	1
Large	8	3
Good	37	16
Total	**54**	**58**

	1922	1926
Contents*		
Fruit	5	15
Vegetable	**11**	**22**

*included in category numbers

Note: The "totals" reflect all gardens mentioned in the reports regardless of whether or not descriptors were applied.

Before analyzing the data it should be noted that garden sites were available to all enrolled members. According to Fox practices, the cultivation of the gardens falls to the women, it is their domain (Joffe: 300).

Gardens were noted in both reports. The descriptions provided for the gardens are judgements on the quality and size of the gardens and reflect the western values of Superintendent, Dr. Jacob Breid. These general descriptors were limited to *none*, *small*, *large*, and *good*. The category *good* also includes those gardens that were described as *nice*. *None* is clear enough, but no acreage numbers were given for determining *small* and *large*. Those described as *large* often included comments about storage. Examples from the 1926 Industry Report include, "His [Percy Bear] garden yields plenty of vegetables for the winter,..." and, "They [Henry Ahamasa and wife] usually plant a good sized garden raising potatoes, beans, squaw corn, squash and pumpkins. This food they store and dry for winter use"(United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1926 Report, Percy Bear, No. 14; 1926; Henry Ahamasa, No.1).

Gardens were important to the United States government as a means to become self-sufficient. The Office of Indian Affairs encouraged each family to plant a garden for winter use. Encouragement was clearly not motivation enough because many of the Fox did not plant gardens or did not care for the ones they had. According to my tabulations, slightly more than half of the Fox residences have gardens. Only 54 gardens are mentioned in the 94 individual Industry Reports of 1922 and only 58 gardens are

mentioned in the 104 individual Industry Reports of 1926. Superintendent Jacob Breid blamed the disinterest in gardening on the outside demand for the Fox, "... to attend carnivals, fairs, festivals, etc., given by the white people in various parts of the state and put on some of their dances," (Breid1926: 8). Breid, entrenched in his own western value system and a rigid government agriculture policy, did not see that the Fox were seeking wage employment doing something that celebrated their Indianness over the subsistence gardening Breid would have preferred them to practice. They resisted Breid's subsistence ideas by pursuing wage labor. The white audience had created the demand for Indian performers and the Fox chose to fill that need in exchange for money. By choosing to perform as Indians at these carnivals, they were using the dominant culture's curiosity in their own cultural traditions to their advantage while resisting the agent's desire to have them tend garden.

Further support for Fox disinterest in gardening is evident in the failed efforts by the United States government to have the Fox incorporate fruit into their gardens. The narrative section of the Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Report of 1922 mentioned that the Fox were encouraged to plant fruit trees, but that the actual cost of fruit trees made this impossible for most people. The Industry Reports support this idea, because in 1922 only five families had fruit of any kind. The Annual Narrative and Statistical Report of 1922 also stated that the agency provided three grape vines to every family (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1922 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium. Narrative

Section IV: Industries, #1). The statistical section of the report supports this noting that 180 grapevines were planted (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1922 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium. Statistical Section, Section V: Industries, #71). Despite these efforts the Industry Report of 1926 show that only fifteen families had fruit trees, berries, or grapes on their property.

These fruit trees and vines were almost metaphors for the United States Government's plan to make the Fox establish roots in one place, thus developing a western relationship with the land. The government failed to realize that the Fox attachment to this land was not reflected in their gardens but was rooted in their history and identity, which provided the motivation for them to return to Iowa in the 1850s.

Domestic water sources

	1922	1926
None	5	2
Spring	7	5
Well	40	24
Drain tile outlet	NA	3

Water sources are often associated with health and sanitary conditions. A letter from a physician to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1913 reports that, "About half of the Indians use water from shallow, driven-point wells, the water being of good quality. Others obtain water form springs, ponds and the river," (Van Cleave: 2). A later report from 1916 on the Fox stated that there were 35 wells and 5 springs on the reserve. The water was determined to be good but hard (Newberne: 1). There was little change in these numbers by the time of the later Industry Reports.

The Industry Report of 1922 was far more detailed than the Industry Report of 1926 in its assessment of water sources. Out of the 94 individual Industry Reports of 1922, only 47 had references to water sources. Typical references stated, "He uses water from a spring...," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1922 Report, Frank Pushetonequa, No. 214) or "...has a well near his house," (1922 Report, John Benson, No. 17).

There were five specific mentions of residences that had no water source at all and those people relied on neighbors. Jim Old Bear who lived in a wickiup, "obtains water for domestic use from the well of John Young Bear," (1922 Report, Jim Old Bear, No. 184). Ready accessibility to water was looked at as a good or western trait.

The concern for good water resources was further neglected in Breid's Industry Reports of 1926 where out of 104 individual reports he only made 34 references to water sources down from the 47 references made in the Industry Reports of 1922. The significant decline from 40 wells in 1922 to twenty-four in 1926 may be Breid's

inconsistent reporting methods. It also might indicate that families were sharing wells and he only reported on the residences where the wells were present. It is also possible that his lack of interest in this basic subsistent need might reflect his hesitancy to call attention to the less than ideal water resources on the reserve and, therefore, in his eye, a lack of progress.

Field Nurse, Mrs. Grace O. Fillius's report from 1929 expressed concern for three springs that supplied water for twelve families by describing them as, "questionable," (Fillius: 5). As a post script, even by 1937, there was not even one home with water piped into it (Joffe: 304).

Fox Housing Structures

	1922	1926
Frame houses		
1 room	11	12
2 rooms	22	22
3 rooms	19	15
4 rooms	1	5
5 rooms +	11	4
Wickiups		
Only	3	8
+ frame house	12	11
Tents		3
Only	1	3
Total	**68**	**69**

Two major styles of housing are in both the Industry Report of 1922 and the Industry Report of 1926: frame houses, representing the dominant western culture's ideal; and the wickiup, the traditional Fox style home. According to the information presented in the Industry Reports of 1922, there were 64 frame houses and in 1926 there were only 58 frame houses. The reason for this inconsistency is unclear, but it may be the result of extended family living arrangements. The Industry Report of 1922 described 15 wickiups and the Industry Report of 1926 included 19 wickiups.

The Superintendent's Annual Report from 1896 stated that there were only six frame homes and one log home on the Iowa reserve (Rebok 1896: 161). Interestingly, in Rebok's 1898 report he notes that each time a frame house was built, "there is a great powwow over the affair and the old men of the tribe vigorously dissent from the judgement of the builder," (Rebok 1898: 171). The old men's behavior showed blatant resistance to the substitutive buildings that some Fox were opting to construct. Here we see that individuals had varied responses to the building of western style houses.

A clear description of traditional Fox housing is offered in the Annual Reports from 1896 and 1898. The thirty-five summer wickiups described were 24 by 30 feet and built with a frame of bark, poles, and boards with rush siding. Inside 3 feet high and 10 feet wide platforms ran the entire length of the structure. The winter wickiups were 10 to 20 feet in length with the center roof reaching 11 feet in height and having a hole for the fire

down below. The wickiups were created with the same materials as the summer houses, poles and rushes (Rebok 1896: 160; Rebok 1898: 171).

The section on settlement patterns in The Handbook of North American Indians offers a further description of Fox summer housing (alternately referred to as wigwams and wickiups) as pole scaffoldings 40 to 60 feet long and 20 feet wide, which were covered with slabs of elm bark (Callender: 637). Historian J. R. Caldwell presented vivid descriptions of the rustic nature of these seasonal residences yet introduced the topic by imposing that, "the Mesquakie is something of an aristocrat, and maintains both summer and winter quarters," (Caldwell 1910: 60).

In 1902, the Fox village was burned in accordance with government health authorities after a severe small pox epidemic. This destruction did not lead to a building boom, but did result in the Fox dispersing and taking up residence in various parts of their tribal land (Joffe: 299).

A special report on the Fox from 1916 quoted the population at, "a total of 364, divided into 85 families living in 17 permanent houses and 68 temporary structures or wickiups," (Newberne: 1). A great deal of building went on during the next six years: numbers tabulated from the Industry Report of 1922 account for 64 frame houses on the reserve.

This housing boom, the result of the efforts of Superintendent Jacob Breid, reflected his desire that all Fox live in western style frame homes. A letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs

described Agent Breid's efforts to provide homes for, "each family on the reservation,...to live and care for their children" (Dr. Jacob Breid to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 26, 1922: Circular 1774, RG 75, Great Lakes Branch, National Archives). A note should be made that each home, "is paid for by the individual person on tribal ground and are classed as the personal property of that individual until he disposes of it by sale to another," (Fillius: 30). The architectural assumption is that these new modern houses would represent, "inevitable *progress* towards a rich and educated,...world," as opposed to the associations with, "...rural poverty, ignorance, and peasant culture," that the wickiups presented to Agent Breid (Pearson 1995: 121).

Clearly, however, many of the Fox were living in what we would consider to be extended family situations and several sources confirm this. In the Industry Report of 1922 there were a total of 68 residences and in the Industry Report of 1926 there were a total of 69 residences. Considering the fact that the 1921 Census accounted for 354 individuals, this placed the average household number at 5.2 individuals (Breid: 1921).

A careful reading of the Industry Report of 1926 demonstrated this to be an extended family situation. Young Bear (No.326) is described as a widower living in a three-room house. His four daughters are all away at school. No reference is made to other inhabitants. However, George Young Bear (No. 322) is reported to have been, "staying at the home of his father Young Bear." In addition to George, Frank Young Bear (No. 331), married with two

children, was reported to own a one-room house, but, "this family makes their home at the Young Bear place." Despite the separate reports, it is clear that families were continuing to live cooperatively.

Cooperative housing is further supported by the field nurse, Grace O. Fillius's 1929 report which stated:

> In one instance, four families live together and sleep in wick-i-ups. However, this is listed as one home because they eat together and they share alike in the family circle. Out of the 71 houses, only 62 are being occupied. There are seven two-room houses that contain two families each and five two-room houses that contain three families in each (Fillius: 6).

The fact that the larger homes were being shared infers that the larger home did not necessarily indicate greater wealth, but the continuation of the Fox family value of cooperative living.

The Industry Reports of 1922 and 1926 did not mention wickiups unless they were the sole housing. In the Industry Report of 1922, only three wickiups were listed and in the Industry Report of 1926 a total of eight wickiups were mentioned. The numbers in my chart are higher because I included the wickiups or frames of wickiups that I saw in the photos, but were not described in the narratives. In the Industry Report of 1922 I counted 15 wickiups, some in photographs and others included in the narrative. In the Industry Report of 1926 I counted 19 wickiups also by combining information from the photographs and the narratives. There were

potentially more wickiups that simply did not appear in the photographs.

Some wickiups found in the photos of 1922 and 1926 Industry Reports are seen as just frameworks. Those covered with rushes appear substantially smaller than those described as summer houses and may have been used as winter residences.

Despite the extensive construction of western style homes, many of the Fox continued to live in non-western style housing, the wickiup or tents, for either part of or during the entire year. The narrative section of the Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Report of 1922 mentioned that, "A large number of the Indians have an open building which they use during the summer months," (Breid, Jacob. 1922 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium. Narrative Section, Section IV: Industries, #9). According to the numbers I derived from the Industry Report of 1922, 23.5% of the Fox had both styles of housing and percentage jumps to 31.9% by 1926.

Superintendent Breid's comments in the reports of those individuals that opted to use the wickiups as their primary residences were varied. Jim Bear who lived in a tent is described as, "industrious and usually a person will find him at work," (United

States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1922 Report, Jim Bear, No. 3). Alternately, a couple who had both styles of housing was judged as resistant because, "In place of living in the house they live in a wickiup in preference, and seem to be against progress in any form," (1922 Report, Henry Ahsamesa, No.1).

The later Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports made little reference to any building structures, which is why the Industry Reports are so engaging. The images of the houses were taken at different times of the year. In some photos, trees have leaves and in others they are bare. The small details in the photos move the viewer beyond a clinical study and towards subtle details of the people. The photo of Harry Davenport's house, (1926 Report, No. 56) has laundry hanging on the line; this eighty year old widower clearly goes about his life. A photo of Sam Slick (1922 Report, No. 238) standing in front of a small house with a ladder leaning against the roof is accompanied by Superintendent Breid's hopeful narrative: "Sam has been living in a wickiup but is now building a new two-room house which he will soon occupy" (1922 Report, No. 238). This work-in-progress is interesting, because Dr. Breid could have interpreted this as the successful assimilation of Sam Slick into western culture, but there is no future documentation

that Sam Slick ever used this structure as his primary residence.

The presence of the two styles of housing demonstrates several survival strategies employed by the Fox in their efforts to maintain a Fox identity during this time of change. The continued presence of wickiups is a form of resistance against westernization, but the construction of new western style housing exemplifies their ability to either negotiate with or placate the dominant western culture. They have not substituted one housing style for another, they have added, thus satisfying their own needs and those of Superintendent Breid.

The Fox attitude towards housing is similar to that of other tribes. Peter Nabokov and Robert Easton noted in their book, *Native American Architecture*, "Indians were deeply attached to their architectural patterns, found them practical and enjoyable, and resisted the white man's attempts to change them," (1989: 12).

The Fox elders from 1898 would be glad to know that in spite of modern conveniences, the Fox never truly abandoned the seasonal housing styles they had been using for centuries. In 1952, when Fred Gearing first visited Tama, he saw, "small frame houses, generally unpainted or not recently painted; often there was a second structure a few yards away, one of the bark-covered, loaf-shaped traditional homes...called "wickiups," (Gearing 1970: 8).

Other Structures on Property

	1922	1926
Barn	15	20
Basement	2	2
Chicken house	13	20
Corn Crib	5	5
Garage	0	1
Granary	4	15
Hog house	3	2
Porch	11	6
Outhouse	2	15
Root cellar	0	2
Shed	4	6
Summer house	0	5
Wood shed	2	0

"Other Structures" reports on all of the structures associated with a residence that are not for human habitation. Several of these are directly associated with farming, including barns, chicken houses, corn cribs, and granaries. These structures see the most significant changes between the 1922 and 1926 Industry Reports. There are five more barns, seven more chicken houses, and eleven more granaries reported in the latter study.

This information could cause the reader to infer that the Fox were demonstrating a stronger commitment to farming. When analyzed in conjunction with the statistics on "Domestic Animals," this commitment is harder to prove. In 1922, thirty-six people owned chickens yet there were only thirteen chicken houses reported. This is in contrast to 1926 when only twenty-seven people owned chickens yet there were twenty chicken houses. Perhaps those that were committed to farming worked on improving their vocation versus those that dabbled in several professions. This will become clearer after reading the statistics on types of "Income."

The only other striking difference was the increase in number of outhouses. There are a total of fifteen outhouses as compared to the two in 1922. That still works out to only about one out of every five houses has an outhouse and raises questions about sanitary conditions.

Tools

	1922	1926
Farm		
Complete set	0	5
Binder	1	1
Corn Planter	17	9
Cultivator	41	31
Disk	21	14
Harrow	33	27
Hay rack	5	3
Mower	9	3
Plow	43	34
Rake	4	3
Seeder	7	5
Miscellaneous		
Gas engine	1	0
Harness	1	8
Phaeton	0	0
Saw	1	0
Windmill	1	0

Farming implements were the only job-specific tools that Dr. Breid noted in both of the Industry Reports. This directly reflected that Dr. Breid wanted the Fox to be farmers or at least wanted to portray the Fox as farmers to his superiors. As the income statistics illustrate, many Fox were subsisting on other forms of industry or employment, yet he makes no reference to the tools involved in those productions and professions. Still, it is necessary to look at the types of tools and their numbers.

In contrast to the other statistics, the information on farm tools leads the reader to assume that farming may have decreased between 1922 and 1926. There are a few possible reasons for this. One is that the Fox were actually farming less. A more plausible reason is that the tools are being shared among several people. Perhaps the cooperative farmers only needed one set of tools to work their gardens.

James Powesheik (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1922 Report, No.200), "has a plow, harrow, disk, corn planter, cultivator, mower and rake," and he farms with his sons Willie Powesheik (1922 Report, No. 203) and Horace Powesheik (1922 Report, No. 206). Willie is reported to have owned, "a binder and wagon." James, "owns a wagon, cultivator, but uses his father's

machinery for most of his farming operations" (1922 Report, No. 203). Here is an example of the inconsistencies in reporting. It does not mention that Willie shares farm tools with his father, nor does Breid mention in his report that Willie only has a partial share in the binder. These inconsistencies add another challenge to interpreting the Industry Reports. It is necessary to review carefully the individual reports and make connections that may not be apparent on the first reading.

The narrative section of Agent Bried's 1922 Annual Report, simply states, "The Indians have fairly good farm equipment," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1922 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium. Narrative Section, Section IV, #5). Again, one must question Breid's judgement on *good*. *Good* does not refer to each farmer possessing his own tools.

Interestingly the Fox had a greater number of tools in 1891. According to the 1891 Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there were 70 plows and cultivators, 2 self-binders, 4 hay rakes, and 4 mowers all owned by individuals (Rebok 1891: 170).

It is important to point out that the various agents assigned to them did not introduce farming to the Fox. The earliest references to Fox farming are by Father Allouez in the late 17th century. He notes,

"They have fields of Indian corn...," (Jesuit Relations, LI, 43 in Tax 1935: 148). Sol Tax added that the Indian corn is part of their seasonal routine because, "They live by hunting during the winter, returning to their cabins toward its close, and living there on Indian corn that they had laid away the previous autumn," (Tax 1935: 149). Farming was not completely alien to them, in so much as it was part of a cyclical lifestyle.

The Fox community in the 1920s continued to practice seasonal farming or better yet gardening, to the dismay of Agent Breid. His westernized values believed that farming was a year-round profession and he expressed concern that the Fox do not share his values, "...a large group have gone to Chicago to take part in some festival in that city. There are not enough able-bodied men left on the reservation at the present time to take care of the crops in a satisfactory manner," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1926 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium, Narrative Section, Section 1, Law and Order, p.2).

As is further demonstrated by this section of the Annual Report "Income," the Fox are participating in a variety of professional opportunities and are not relying on farming for cash crops. Individuals are making their own choices, with little regard to the

United States government's agendas.

Modes of Transportation

	1922	1926
Bobsled	1	0
Buggy	3	1
Car	6	12
Spring wagon	7	5
Wagon	41	34
Wagon box	2	1

At the time of the 1922 and 1926 Industry Reports, Fox land was just under four thousand acres. It was three miles from Tama. Cars were not a necessary form of transportation considering the size of the area.

Most people were still relying on horse-drawn wagons for transportation. In 1926, it can be estimated that there was one wagon for every two residences in the survey. This may be another instance where families are sharing wagons and forms of transportation.

The number of cars doubled from six to twelve between 1922 and 1926. This number appears low, but reflected the financial situation of the Fox. Most were making under $500. 00 per year so cars were not an option (Fillius: un-numbered pages of statistics).

Animals I

	1922	1926
Horses*		
1	3	1
2	26	28
3	11	16
4	10	7
5	2	1
6	3	3
7+	0	0
Total Owners	55	56
Total Horses	156	145

*Ponies are included in the number of horses.

	1922	1926
Mules		
1	1	0
2	0	2
3+	0	0
Total Owners	1	2
Total Mules	1	4

Historically, horses did not play a focal role in the Fox lifestyle. The Fox economy is similar to other Woodland tribes combining both hunting and agriculture. In the autumn, they would travel to their hunting grounds east of the Iowa-Missouri watershed by, "horse or canoe," (Callendar: 637).

Conflicting facts about Fox association with horses appears in some of the early reports, beginning with their initial purchase of land in Iowa in 1857. The tract of land was paid for by the combined sale of horses, jewelry and annuities, (Callendar: 637).

In 1895, it was estimated that the Fox had as many as five hundred ponies and horses. (Indian Rights Association 1895: 3) In 1898 it was reported that they had, "70 teams of good work horses, about 300 ponies, 3 mules...," (Rebok 1898: 170). These numbers are extremely high compared to the numbers reported in the Industry Reports of 156 in 1922 and145 in1926.

In 1909, the Fox requested the hiring of a blacksmith in lieu of a farmer. Agent Green disagreed with the Fox believing instead that a farmer could, "assist in showing them the right road and have force enough to help see that they walk in it part of the time," (Agent Green to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 14, 1909, File 30835/09 Index 0297 RG 75, National Archives, Reel # 18). Green failed to recognize that horses were more important to the Fox than farming. The Fox saw the benefit of a blacksmith as someone who could service their horses as well as mend their tools.

Agent Breid, as well, misunderstand the Fox desire to have ponies as more than work animals. He commented on this in the

Narrative of his Annual Report of 1924, " There are very few ponies remaining on the reservation, but there are more than should be. There are a few of the Indians who persist in having small horses for riding and driving," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1924 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium, Narrative Section, Section IV). This shows the difference in the western view of horses as work animals and the Fox view. By keeping horses for what the agent saw as merely recreation, the Fox are once again practicing a form of resistance and preserving animals as a source of disposable wealth.

I have been unable to determine when the number of horses decreased, but by the time of the Industry Reports, there is on average less than one horse per residence. Clearly, the Fox had disposed of horses to make a living.

Animals II

	1922	1926
Chickens		
1-10	1	4
11-20	5	2
21-30	7	3
31-40	6	2
41-50	6	9
51-60	5	0
61-70	0	0
71-80	1	5
81-90	1	0
91-100	0	0
100+	4	2
Total Owners	**36**	**27**

	1922	1926
Hogs/Pigs		
1-2	5	0
3-4	2	2
5-6	3	0
7+	4	0
Total Owners	**14**	**2**

	1922	1926
Bee hives		
1-25	1	0
26-50	0	2
Total Owners	**1**	**2**

The numbers for domestic livestock are only significant in that they are insignificant. Raising livestock was not proposed with the same vigilance as farming. In fact it was discouraged by Agent Breid, "We do not encourage the raising of hogs or cattle until we feel sure the Indians will take care of such stock...Stock raising is not practicable for the Indians at this time. The per capita acreage is very small and there is sufficient pasture for their horses," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1923 Annual Report Sac and Fox Sanatorium, Narrative Section, Section IV).

The decision not to raise livestock was not a resistance by the Fox nor a compliance. The Fox have no tradition of raising livestock, nor would their seasonal economies lend themselves to a yearlong, daily commitment to the task.

Demographics

	1922	1926
Males		
Newborn -5	2	25
6-10	1	16
11-15		15
15-20		17
21-30	16	25
31-40	33	35
41-50	13	18
51-60	10	13
61-70	3	3
71-80	2	1
81+	1	0
Total Males	**81**	**168**
Females		
Newborn -5	2	31
6-10	1	14
11-15		29
15-20	2	14
21-30	2	19
31-40	1	23
41-50		12
51-60	1	5
61-70	1	3
71-80		0
81+		3
Total Females	**10**	**153**
Total Population	**269***	**321**

*Includes 126 individuals, including children of non-specified ages and gender and women of non-specified ages.

Fox population has changed in numbers over the years. As stated in the Chaper III, Father Allouez estimated the seventeenth century Fox population at about 6,000. The first census taken at their home in Iowa was in 1867. Agent Leander Clark reported two-hundred-sixty four residents (Gallahar 1916b: 578).

Agent Breid was not conscientious in his reporting of the demographics in the Industry Report of 1922. His careful attention to the adult males only, may have reflected his western views of an adult male dominated society. Another interpretation may be that demography was only a minor part of his Industry Reports because his annual reports and Census of 1921 accomplish this more thoroughly.

The Annual Report of 1922 accounted for a total population of 352 individuals, with 186 males and 166 females. The value of the annual reports lies in the details they provide about the community. They give total numbers for categories ranging from, "Number of Indians under your supervision who can read and write English language," to "Unallotted: Timber land covered with pasture," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1910-1925: 1922 Annual Report of the Sac and Fox Sanatorium, Narrative Section, Section V. Industries, p.15). Breid does make amends by representing males, females, and

children more thoroughly in the Industry Report of 1926. It was difficult to get beyond the numbers, but other documents provided some insights to groups within the community. One of the more interesting examples gave insights into how Fox women as a group and as individuals acted out their own agendas of resistance. An Inspection Report from June 17, 1926 discussed a "Save the Babies" campaign noting that:

> The Indian women do not like to consult with, or have, white physicians when their babies are born, or sick. They very much prefer to have the Indian doctors and very few of the Indian women will even listen to the white physician regarding their diet, either before or after their babies are born (Wilson 1916: 8).

These resistances allowed the tribal women to take control of their own bodies and thus bring their children into the world according to their own Fox values.

Income

	1922	1926
Anthro. assistant	1	1
Band leader		1
Baseball player		1
Beader	2	5
Boy Scout leader		1
Bus driver		1
Carpenter	1	2
Chickens		1
Dayhand	2	4
Feather headdresses		1
Honey		1
Jewelry		1
Maple sugar		1
Medicine man		1
Midwife		1
101 Ranch Circus		9
Painter (house)	3	3
Paper mill	2	
Peyote leader		1
Pow wow dancer		1
Railroad	6	13
Rental farmer	1	3
Reservation police	1	1
Sanatorium	1	0
Silversmith	1	4
Tailor		1
Theatre group		1
Trapping	5	7
Tribal council	1	
Stenographer		1

Income (cont.)

	1922	1926
Other		
Bank account		1
Insurance		2
Land lease	1	3
Oil revenue		1
Trust fund		2

The varieties of ways that the Fox were generating incomes for themselves are impressive. These can be subdivided into four categories, native industries, performance, western-types, and "other." The "other" category includes those incomes that generate money without labor, including bank accounts, insurance, land leases, oil revenue, and trust funds. "Other" provides little room for comment.

Native industries include beading, feather head-dresses, jewelry, maple sugar, medicine man, midwife, peyote leader, silversmith, and trapping. Support for this comes from the Narrative Section of a report conducted by Mrs. Grace O. Fillius, a field nurse in 1929. Fillius lists each individual generating an income as well as what they did to earn the income and how much they made. Fillius' report does show a greater number of Fox generating incomes from work that is considered more native than western in nature. These numbers may be greater because she obtained them with the, "aid of Mr. Filbert, the government farmer," who may have a more personal relationship or at least consistent relationship with the Fox than the agents. Fillius reported:

> Farming, gardening, and native arts constitute the main source of income. Through the winter months, about 28 men do trapping and average about $250.00 from that source. About twelve families increase their yearly income by making baskets, moccasins, bead work and other articles and selling them to the tourists who stop at their market place on the highway (4-5).

Trapping and maple sugar collecting were continuations of the seasonal economies the Fox had practiced for years. The low numbers for trapping and maple sugaring reported in the Industry Reports are inaccurate. Neither trapping or maple sugaring could insure a steady income, but more Fox may have supplemented their incomes with these practices. Fillius's report determined that twenty-eight out men of the ninety-six Fox surveyed were trapping. That is almost thirty percent of the population.

Incomes generated by native arts including beading, feather head-dresses, jewelry, and silversmithing were reported by only eleven individual in the Industry Report of 1926. Fillius reported on thirty-seven people practicing these crafts. Interestingly, one of the reservation politicians, who is often referred to as "progressive, " supplements his income by making feather decorations and headdresses, (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1926 Report, Young Bear, No. 326).

Performance jobs include, band leaders, baseball players, members of the 101 Ranch Circus, pow wow dancers, and theatre group members. Agent Breid made it clear that he does not approve of these types of labor. Frank K. Williams is described as, "not very industrious," yet it is reported that he has been away at boarding school and works seasonally with the 101 Ranch Circus. (1926 Report, No. 106). He is one of nine people employed by the circus in 1926. Agent Breid's attitudes reflected the United States government's views of these shows, "Secretaries of the Interior and Commissioners of Indian Affairs became concerned about the shows'

effects on assimilationist programs and on the image of the Indian in the popular mind," (Moses: 5). Historian L.G. Moses, in his book Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians 1883-1933 explains how it was difficult to persuade the Indian performers to settle down and live more "productive" lives because, "Few Indians who took out allotments and farmed the land or raised livestock could boast of comparable salaries which ranged from $35.- $90. a month," (8-9).

Pow wow dancers deserve a special note, because pow wows were a big part of the life to the Fox. In his Annual Report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, in 1896, Agent Horace Rebok discussed what he saw as the "disruptive" elements of pow wows:

> One of the greatest barriers to their progress is their love of the dance, and it too frequently happens that they have visitors from other Indian tribes during the busy seasons, and when visitors are present all work on the farm ceases and a season of merrymaking follows,... (1896: 160).

What Rebok and other agents saw as disruptive would be seen in a very different light by the Fox. The Fox "love of the dance" that appears in most reports would make pow wow dancing a respected profession among the Fox.

The last sub-category are those western-type jobs including bus driver, carpenter, working on the rails, reservation police, etc. These jobs serviced the needs of the white community.

All evidence points to the fact that the Fox did not solely relying on agriculture for their incomes. They exploited many of the

opportunities around them by providing labor and services to the outside, white community, by continuing their seasonal economies, and by generating an income through their native arts. The Fox were making choices, thus maintaining a sense of independence from the Indian agents who represented the United States.

Schooling

	1922	1926
Boarding School		
Boys	3	21
Girls	8	24
Total	13	45
Day School		
Boys	3	16
Girls	7	23
Total	10	39
County H.S.		
Boys	NA	2
Girls	NA	1
Total	NA	3
Total Students	23	87

An entire paper could be written on the Fox relationship with schools. There is documentation on this area spanning from the first agent assigned to them up to the 1980s. The Fox have a clear understanding of the power education. Early on, they chose to reject the schools, but later, they moved to gain control in determining their own schools. The Industry Reports of 1922 and 1926 do not provide much insight into education beyond notations of who was attending. It is necessary to look to other documents to flesh out this topic.

The Annual Report of 1922 presents very different numbers for children attending school. The Annual Report of 1922 states that twenty-seven children were attending non-reservation boarding schools and sixty-three were attending day schools. Compare those numbers to the thirteen references to boarding school and the ten for day schools in the Industry Report of 1922. This may be because the Annual Report determines the relative success of the agency versus the industry reports which assess the success of individual Fox.

The numbers for the 1926 reports are equally off. The Annual Report of 1926 accounted for fewer students at boarding school, twenty-seven versus the forty-five references made in the Industry Report of 1926. The inconsistencies in numbers are of less importance than the Fox relationship with the school.

The first formal school was built in 1876 under the direction of Agent Thomas S. Free, but school attendance was irregular. First, the Fox were still following their seasonal economies and would leave their homes in the winter to hunt and trap (Gallahar 1916b: 580-

584). Added to this was their hesitancy to join the white man's world. An incident reported in the History of Tama County described how the old braves would not enter the new school until all of the desks were taken out, and one commented that, "We don't want our children to grow up like white children," (Caldwell: 243).

In 1883, two new teachers were hired, one being Allie Busby. In her memoirs Two Summers Among the Musquakie she noted, "They think they have a right to choose their own mode of life, bring up their children without the education of the white man, and be themselves as far removed from his advancement as it is possible to be," (74). Busby's comment on the Fox resistance to the dominant culture is even more powerful after remembering that in 1883 the Fox still owned their land in Iowa. The Fox did not legally, need to heed the Agent's desires.

Chapter V: Conclusion

I have interpreted the Industry Reports of 1922 and 1926 and their supporting documents with reference to the theories of westernization, colonialism, resistance, and with the methods ethnohistory. The combining of these theories has led me to identify three strategies demonstrated by the Fox as they seek to preserve and insure the continuation of a uniquely Fox cultural identity.

The first strategy was that the changes in material culture demonstrated among the Fox appear to be additive and not substitutive. The Fox adopted in new technologies that could be of service to them without replacing the older ideas. The Fox may build a frame house at the agent's promptings, but many continued to use the houses seasonally while opting to inhabit wickiups the rest of the year. In many instances they also opted to live and work cooperatively, thus defying all attempts by the United States government to divide Fox land into separate allotments.

Second, the Fox used the westerner's tools to negotiate and combat westerners - enabling them to maintain their own cultural values. The westerner's tools and weapons are never assimilated into the Fox culture, but are employed against the dominant western culture. The best example of this is when the Fox purchase their land in Iowa in 1856 which provided them with over forty years of freedom as taxpaying landowners. They appealed to the westerner's ideal of ownership and attachment to land. The Fox also used the same methods as their white neighbors, to gain this status and used

it to ward off interference from the United States government appointed agents. Yet within the Fox community, the land was never subdivided into allotments and the Fox continued their seasonal economic practices cooperatively.

Another example the Fox having made use of the tools of their enemies, occurred when tribal members described as, "opposed to schools and everything else progressive," and as, "Bolsheviks," called for a legal accounting of funds earned during the Annual Pow Wow (From Jacob Breid to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 22, 1920, Index 348, File 34238-1910, RG 75, National Archives, Reel 18). The Fox plaintiffs hired a lawyer and filed their complaint with the US District Court (Young Bear to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 13, 1920,Index 348, File 34238-1910, RG 75, National Archives, Reel 18). Though Agent Breid describes the plaintiffs as *kickers*, it is clear that they understood that the best way to get the Government's attention was through the use of the legal system. These *kickers* may have protested United States government schools, yet they knew how to use the United States government's own legal system when it was able to benefit them.

Historian Ruth Gallahar, came to a similar conclusion in 1916 when she commented:

> In the long struggle they have waged for their own preservation in their old hunting-grounds, they have secured themselves from interference by their strict adherence to the laws of the State. That the attitude of the Iowa legislature toward them has been lenient is largely due to the care they have used to secure the approval of those in authority before taking any step (1916: 595-596).

Last, the methods of the first two Fox resistances, adding to but not substituting material culture and using the tools of the dominant culture when dealing with the dominant culture, were carried out in specific resistances by individuals. One final anecdote shows how this occurred. Henry Moore was a twenty-nine year old who had attended the Haskell Institute for some time. Despite his attendance at an assimilationist boarding school, "Henry has no occupation and does very little manual labor but spends most of his time walking through the woods and hunting and fishing," (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1921-1926: 1926 Report, No. 167). Henry, chose to lead a lifestyle that closely related to traditional Fox economic patterns. This small personal resistance allowed Henry to hold on to what he valued about being Fox despite his western education.

This combination of strategies enabled the Fox to remain essentially Fox in their cultural survival despite the continual growth of westernization around them in the 1920s. In the process, they remained active participants in determining who they are.

The Fox provide an example for other ethnic groups combating westernization policies around the world. Throughout centuries of contact with western influences they have never become acculturated. The Fox have managed to successfully co-exist side-by-side with the dominant culture without becoming part of it. The Fox ability to use elements of the western culture to their advantage while preserving what is vital to their own identity provides a successful model for cultural survival.

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